4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

by young men wearing European clothes. Only by reason of the rosary swinging between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans. 293

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved. [302]

Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small kirtle with extra long, pointed arms, a padded jacket, *čakat*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2329) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (E. 2330a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although mortally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b). 291

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-armed, striped, 291 561

Fig. 83. Children's dress in the village. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

291
561

long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 6, whereafter they are given small men's costumes of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 10, 28, 65).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan —velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be seen in an urban milieu.

302

In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being cut quite short. This may be done to avert evil?).

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

344 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onionleaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village